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HUGO PIPPING: *FINLÄNDSKA ORTNAMN*. Helsingfors. 1918. Pp. xx+139. [Skrifter utgivna av Åbo Akademi Kommitte. 7.]

The relation of Finland to Scandinavia and the Germanic West in ancient times is a problem that has engaged the attention of many scholars in recent years. Their investigations have dealt with the subject linguistically and archeologically. The first results were surprising enough, but seem now in the main to be firmly established. On the linguistic side it is shown, e.g., that the earliest Finnish loans go back at least to Late Primitive Germanic, which corresponds to Early Primitive Finnish, and takes us back to the last centuries before our era. This dating is made necessary by the vocalism of Germanic words in Finnish, the Pre-Gothic character of which was shown by T. E. Karsten in an article entitled "Zur Frage nach den 'gotischen' Lehnwörtern im Finnischen," published in the *Indo-Germanische Forschungen*, XX, pp. 290-307 (1907-08). Another Swedish scholar, K. B. Wiklund, has made important contributions in the same direction.¹

On the archeological side the evidence of very early cultural loans as between the Germanic West and Finland is undisputed; but there are the difficult problems as to the provenance of this influence and as to its date. As early as 1874 the Finnish writer J. R. Aspelin pointed out the fact that the boat-shaped axe of the Finnish Stone-Age is historically to be identified with the same type of stone axe in Sweden (*Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistoriques*, Stockholm, 1874). Then in 1885 in the work *Suomen asukkaat* Aspelin proposed the division of the Finnish Stone Age into two zones, an Eastern and a Western, the former with Slavic, the latter with Germanic connections. These Western connections would seem to be primarily Swedish, but the ornamentation on clay pots would point also to non-Scandinavian Germanic influence. It would seem to be clear that Germanic and Russian culture influenced one another mutually during the Bronze Age and the Stone Age, and that the meeting ground of the two was Finland. The Germanic culture in question could only have been Gothic-Scandinavian, and on the Scandinavian side especially Swedish. Numerous articles have been published since the late nineties upon various phases of the problem. It involved, of course, the question of the coming of the Swedes (or rather settlers from the present Sweden) to Finland; or to put the problem the other way, the coming of the Finns to Western Finland, where a Germanic people was clearly domiciled in the Bronze Age. The conclusion seems to be that Finno-Ugrian tribes lived among a people of Germanic stock in South-Western Finland in the Bronze Age and even in the Stone Age. So Pipping, quoting the words of Hackman (p. xiii). But this conclusion is not entirely clear chronologically. Finnish Bronze culture is so little evidenced as to be practically non-existent (See, however, Pipping, pp. xii-xiii). Stone culture passes rapidly into the Iron culture of the Pre-Roman period, i.e., the last five centuries B.C. But the Scandinavian Bronze Age begins ca. 1800 (or 1600) B.C. And the boat-

¹ In *Le Monde Oriental*, Upsala.

shaped stone axe of Scandinavia which came into use in Finland puts the date of cultural contact between the two back to, possibly, 2000 B.C. Should we not then rather say, that the paucity of bronze implements in Finland does not mean that bronze was not known and in use through a considerable period, but that the Finns continued to use stone (also for edge tools) for a long time because of the scarcity of Bronze?² And this would of course also have been the case with the Germanic inhabitants of Finland. The Finnish archeologist Hackman, quoted by Pipping, holds that in Finland little bronze was needed, for it was the practice there not to reject worn or broken pieces of bronze tools but to recast them into new implements (Atlas öfver Finland, 1910). And it would seem that he holds, then, that the Finnish Bronze Age approximately coincides with that of Sweden.

Finnish-Scandinavian contact, then, goes back into the Bronze Age or possibly to the late Scandinavian Stone Age. Possibly to the Stone Age, I say, not necessarily so, for the striking boat-shaped stone axe³ would have come into use among the Finns in South Western Finland (see above), where the use of stone implements was common much later possibly than in Scandinavia. At this point some definite evidence comes from new philological studies, first by K. B. Wiklund in *Le Monde Oriental* V, and then by T. E. Karsten in *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, XLV, 2 (1915), who aim to show that the consonantal system of Finnish loanwords from the ancestors of the Germanic peoples go back to a time prior to the Germanic consonantal shift. And the date of this may roughly be taken to have been about 1500 years B.C.

It is natural to expect that Finnish place-names should reflect the scope of Germanic settlement in Finland. The first scholar to undertake an examination of these was, I believe, Ralf Saxén. His results were published in an article entitled "Onomatologiska bidrag till belysande af den svenska befolkningens äldre utbredning i Egentliga Finland" in *Nordiska Studier tillägnade Adolf Noreen*, 1904, pp. 39-45. Saxén first calls attention to the fact that: "I Egentliga Finland förekomma gamla skandinaviska, numera förfinskade namn uti hundradetal;" they show that the Swedish population of Finland was in former times spread over a much larger area than at present.⁴ In illustration of this he discusses briefly some twenty names from all parts of the coast of Finland.

In the study before us Pipping takes up this same subject for a more extensive treatment. Some seventy names are considered, and there is an introduction of twenty pages giving a history of the study of Finnish-Scandinavian relations. The whole forms a most valuable contribution to the study of an interesting and difficult problem. The introduction deals with investigations following Vilhelm Thomsen's work: *Den gotiske sprogklassens indflydelse*

² That the importation of bronze was limited, and that the native industry developed little until the close of the Bronze Age.

³ See excellent illustrations in Rygh's *Norske Oldsager*, figures 35-36, and *Västmanlands Fornminnesförenings Årsskrift*, VIII, p. 12.

⁴ l. c., p. 39.

paa den finske in 1869,⁵ a work which laid the solid foundation for subsequent investigation. Of studies prior to 1869 Thomsen's work gives an account. Of specifically philological contributions reference may be made here to T. E. Karsten's article in the *Indo-Germanische Forschungen*, XXII. Pipping offers a bibliography of works consulted, which would seem to be pretty complete (pp. 126-139).

I would not say that the author establishes the (Scandinavian) source of all names considered. The problems confronted are often very difficult, some of them, I believe, impossible of solution. In loans between languages word-forms will maintain themselves more or less pure in proportion to the similarity of the loaning and the borrowing language (subject always of course to later change in the borrowing language). In unrelated or remotely related languages the change in borrowed words or names will be greatest; and in a special degree is this true in borrowings from a primitive period of the borrowing language. In such a case changes in the forms of words are often apt to be very irregular. That Old Swedish, Gothic, or other Germanic names in Finland may often have become quite distorted in the course of their history is quite likely. Proof of the identity of some cases of this kind may lead to setting up unlikely equations in other cases where proof is not present; a possibility is set up, then used as if it were an established probability. Pipping's derivations are, however, always sane and well-considered. Where he is treading on uncertain ground he is careful and always conservative in his conclusions. Such a case is the name *Ruohauta* in Tyrvís (pp. 98-101). Now this name is probably genuinely Finnish, a composite from Finnish *ruoho*, "grass," and *hauta*, "grave" (see p. 99); this, especially in view of the form *rohohauta*, 1486, of which *ruohauta* would be a common enough contract form; in *ruohauta* the diphthong *uo* is modern. However, of ten cited occurrences ranging from 1475 (*olaff rohavta*) to 1546 the name usually appears as the place-name of a Scandinavian settler. Further, the Finnish, *ruuhi*, "a hollowed-out tree-trunk, boat," is borrowed from Germanic *brüh* of the same meaning, the Scandinavian representative of which is ON. *bró* = Primitive Scandinavian **prōhu*. This also would give the medieval form *rohu* modern *ruohu*, contracted in *ruohauta*. For some of the forms Pipping would assume contamination with Finnish *ruoho*, 'grass.' As an originally Gmc-Scandinavian place-name the meaning would be 'coffin-grave,' i.e., the grave with a coffin in it (coffin of the hollowed-out trunk of a tree). As an originally Finnish name it would mean 'grass-ditch' (ditch overgrown with grass). Unless it can be shown that the place received its name very early, and, indeed, at a time when coffin-graves were rare in Finland,⁶ the sug-

⁵ The book is best known under the title: *Über den Einfluss der germanischen Sprachen auf die finnisch-lappischen von Dr. Wilh. Thomsen. Aus dem dänischen übersetzt von E. Sievers*, published in 1870.

⁶ In Sweden hollowed-out oak coffins go back well into the Bronze Age. For full discussion of the subject see *Svenska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift*, IX, pp. 77-110.

gested Scandinavian origin must remain doubtful. A somewhat similar case we have in *Hatula*, where *Hatu-* might be from ON. *haðu* (as a name in *Hoðr*), or from Finnish *hatu*. Especially interesting and suggestive are, however, the author's discussions in connection with *Kuopio* (a Bronze-Age loan), *Eko*, *Häimlaxviken*, *Imatra*, *Kainuu*, *Karkku*, *Mälsarby*, *Viekijärvi*, and *Ängelsby*.

While in such an investigation one, therefore, often operates with difficult material, it may be noted that Finnish is a very conservative language, especially on the side of the vowels. And groups of loaned words have preserved practically their original form from Primitive Germanic times down to the present. See, e.g., Thomsen's *Einfluss*,⁷ etc., pp. 49-103.⁸ But the Finnish consonantal system is limited, the voiced explosives are practically absent, something that complicates the problem very much. Primitive Germanic loans having the consonants in question must be tested by other criteria. Likewise it would seem often to be impossible to settle the question as to whether an Indo-European loan came to the Finns from the later Germanic people or from elsewhere. For the present, then, many things must remain in abeyance. But, granting this, the advance that has been made in this domain of investigation, along the lines of philological and archeological evidence, throws a wholly new light upon the ancient history of Finland and upon Finnish-Scandinavian and Finnish-Germanic relations, and it adds an important chapter to the story of the Indo-Europeans.

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Urbana. 1919.

⁷ Brief summaries in Noreen: *Geschichte der nordischen Sprachen*, 1913, p. 10, Ljungstedt: *Grunddragen af Modersmålets Historia*, 1898, pp. 70-71, and Kluge's *Urgermanisch. Vorgeschichte der allgermanischen Dialekte*, 1913, pp. 42-45.

⁸ As, e.g., *ruhtinas*, prince (Cp. ON. *drottinn*), m., *kulta*, n., gold, and *kansa*, f., people.